

FRANK J. KARPIEL

Theosophy, Culture, and Politics in Honolulu, 1890–1920

IN THE HEART OF DOWNTOWN Honolulu lies a verdant twenty-acre public garden containing more than ten thousand species of trees and plants from around the world, a visible symbol of the fact that Hawai'i is a place of biological as well as cultural fusion. The donor of this botanical preserve was Mary Foster (1844–1930), whose life exemplified this fusion of Asian, Pacific, and Western peoples and cultures on this remote island chain.

Scion of a wealthy family of Hawaiian and haole ancestry, Foster was one of a number of second- and third-generation Island residents who crossed the cultural boundaries that separated people in Hawai'i. By immersing themselves in syncretic religious movements such as Buddhism and Theosophy, they helped bridge cultural and ethnic divisions in Honolulu during this era and foreshadowed the ethnic and cultural mosaic that Hawai'i became later in the twentieth century. As a singular alliance of American businessmen, missionary descendants, and their local allies closed in around a weakened monarchy in the early 1890s, seizing control of the economic and political destiny of Hawai'i, a handful of the *kama'āina*¹ elite, among them Mary Foster, abandoned the Christian Protestant creeds of their parents and peers and turned instead to Asian and syncretic religions.

Foster and her associates in this move were the predecessors of today's culturally integrated Hawai'i. Yet in their own time they were a tiny minority with little apparent influence. Is there a connection

Frank J. Karpriel is a Ph.D. candidate in the History Department at the University of Hawai'i.

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between this fringe group who transgressed the dominant Protestant cultural mores of the time and the profusion of later cross-cultural interactions in Hawai'i? This article will explore some of the links between cultural and political dissenters during the 1890s, as well as survey the colorful cast of characters who departed from their expected cultural scripts, seeking to give context to their actions. Although this is difficult due to the lack of surviving diaries, letters, and journals, enough remains in the public record and the personal papers of Foster and others to reconstruct the outlines of a fascinating and heretofore largely untold story.

PRELUDE

By 1900, Hawai'i had been annexed to the United States and American economic and political hegemony were well established, but with no predominant cultural and religious identity. Protestant Congregationalist missionaries had dominated cultural discourse in the two decades after Kamehameha's death, filling a vacuum caused by the overthrow of the *kapu* (taboo) system by Ka'ahumanu and Liholiho in 1819. Calvinist influence waned in the decades after 1840 with Roman Catholics, Mormons, and Episcopalians challenging the Protestant missionaries for converts, and the Hawaiian monarchs Kamehameha III, Alexander Liholiho, Lot Kamehameha, and Kalākaua revitalizing Hawaiian spiritual traditions in varying degrees. Still, the legacy of Protestant missionary attitudes played a significant role in Hawai'i's public dialogue. During the intense political struggles of the 1890s, denunciations of the Protestant missionaries and their progeny's propensity for worldly wealth and political power appeared frequently, but rarely did critiques of Christianity itself emerge.

A rich tapestry of Asian and Western religions together with syncretic movements emerged, represented by groups like the iconoclastic Hawaiian-Christian Hoomana Naauao, local branches of the Theosophical Society, Anthroposophy (an offshoot of Theosophy), and a newly emergent Bahai movement.² Ethnic festivals and celebrations of all kinds from *Bon* dances to Kamehameha Day festivities and Washington Day parades drew celebrants and onlookers from all ethnic groups. Many of these encounters, whether they were religious, philosophical, or purely festive, brought together diverse ele-

ments of Honolulu's population in settings that deemphasized the hierarchical social and economic structure that predominated in Hawai'i.

Anthropologist Victor Turner's theories on the importance of liminal (that is, marginal) phenomena in providing "subversive, radical critiques of central structures, and proposing utopian alternative models" are useful for understanding this breaching of cultural boundaries in Hawai'i. Concentrating on modern manifestations of the ritual process, Turner's later work focuses on how individuals and groups in liminal states progress to a final phase of undifferentiated community of equal individuals or *communitas*.³ There is an essential dialectic between a differentiated social structure, usually hierarchical, and its opposite state, *communitas*, argues Turner, with "maximization of *communitas* provoking maximization of structure, which in turn produces revolutionary strivings for renewed *communitas*."⁴ Is it possible that cross-cultural religious boundary crossing by liminal groups in Hawai'i may have aided in the transition to a more cosmopolitan, diverse world view?

Liminality is a term borrowed by Turner from folklorist Arnold Van Gennep to help analyze anthropological data. It denotes those passages "from one state of society or mind to another, when the past has lost its grip and the future has not taken definite shape."⁵ In examining rites of passage, Turner defines three phases: separation, detachment of the individual or group from a fixed point in the social structure; the liminal period, a state of "betwixt and between"; and aggregation, usually with the subject at a higher status level. Turner later turned from his studies of tribal cultures and focused on how complex societies have adapted transitional rites, especially the liminal phase, which he designates as liminoid in modern societies. Whereas liminal phenomena are inclined to be collective, cyclical, and centrally integrated into the total social process, liminoid activity develops "outside the central economic and political processes, along their margins, on their interfaces."⁶ In contrast to the liminal, they are plural, fragmentary, and experimental and compete with each other in the cultural marketplace.

Liminal groups are therefore represented in several forms within this article. Mary Foster and other participants in syncretic and Eastern religions were liminal by individual choice, and their endeavors



FIG. 1. Mary R. Foster (1844–1930) was a forerunner in crossing cultural boundaries in Hawai'i. (Bishop Museum.)

were part of a complex late-Victorian lifestyle in which spirituality was an important, but not always dominant element. Japanese immigrants as a group were "betwixt and between" their traditional culture and the rapidly Westernizing society in which they were living, unassimilated yet also subject to pressure to abandon their Buddhist religion and its rituals. When these groups assembled together, the results were telling—a simultaneous validation of Eastern religions and the spirit of ecumenicism along with the elevation of a lower-caste social group to a position of equality with an elite clique of *kama'āinas* and Westerners, both European and American. Hawaiians, increasingly marginalized politically and culturally as the end of the nineteenth century drew closer, developed a number of religious movements combining elements of indigenous spirituality and Christianity.⁷

The utopian world envisioned by syncretic and Asian religions in Honolulu varied with each group's ideological background and membership. They ranged from the distinctive mixture of intense Bible study and Hawaiian traditions of Hoomana Naauao, the religious eclecticism of Bahai worship, and the distinctive blend of Eastern and Western esoteric traditions embodied in Theosophy. Each of these groups provided ample potential for subversive critiques of Hawai'i's dominant structures, but Theosophy may have been the most threatening because of its connection with the religion and culture of Hawai'i's most rapidly growing population group, the Japanese.

The proximity of other nationalities on the island chain continually challenged the microcosmic world of each ethnic group. Yet Asian immigrants had been effectively isolated on plantations by restrictive labor contracts as well as by the dissimilarity of language and other cultural differences. If, as Fredrik Barth has noted, ethnic boundaries which channelize social life help to define each group, a variety of formal and informal precepts circumscribed interactions within Honolulu's evolving polyethnic community.⁸ Areas of "articulation and separation" existed, governing situations of contact as well as proscribed areas of interaction. Quite clearly business and religion were among the most sensitive of domains with strict sets of role constraints. Even Protestant efforts to convert Asians to Christianity avoided the actual integration of church congregations with construction of separate sites for worship. And as Chinese and Japanese immigrants left the plantations after completion of their labor con-

tracts, Honolulu's Asian population soared and tensions spiraled. The city's English-language newspapers contained frequent expressions of concern regarding the influx of outsiders setting up shop downtown in direct competition with *kama'āina* establishments. W. N. Armstrong, a cabinet minister during Kalākaua's reign, son of Protestant missionaries, and devoted defender of American interests, summarized the political problem in an 1894 *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* article:

It must be distinctly understood that besides ruling themselves, whites must create a form of government through which they can rule natives, Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese, in order to prevent being "snowed under." That is, we need two distinct forms of government made up into one form; one for ourselves and one for aliens, who outnumber us. . . . The many thousand aliens which we, the few Americans and Europeans, must control, are not inferior races but strong and developing races. We must rule them by an independent and absolute power⁹

Honolulu during the 1890s was thus witness to a new and possibly threatening phenomenon—prominent *kama'āinas* attending Buddhist services, the creation of several branches of the Theosophical Society, and a female Hawaiian monarch (Queen Lili'uokalani) displaying interest in Buddhism at a time when its formal infrastructure was practically nonexistent in the city.¹⁰ Significantly, Theosophy and Hoomana Naauao expressed intellectual and spiritual inclinations analogous to King Kalākaua's highly criticized efforts to revitalize Hawaiian culture during the late 1880s through the Hale Naua Society.

Hale Naua's mixture of science (including the imaginative geological theories of William L. Green, Kalākaua's premier and minister of finance) and Hawaiian culture (encompassing hula, genealogical research, and the traditional knowledge of the *kahuna*) challenged the Victorian sensibilities of the white elite. During the late 1880s and 1890s opponents of the monarchy continually evoked the Hale Naua as evidence of the monarchy's immoral and corrupt nature. Based upon a manifest hatred of every element of traditional Hawaiian culture relating to non-Christian spirituality, this opposition illustrates a

direct link to the Calvinist attitudes of the missionaries. Lorrin Thurston's assertion was typical:

Evidence of his [Kalākaua's] mental deficiency and unbalance is found in the direction that his mind took, and in the time occupied with inconsequential matters, when the serious state of the kingdom and his personal business demanded his close attention. For example . . . the King was occupied with the organization of the Hale Naua, an organization in which semi-mystical, scientific jargon was mixed with a catering to ancient superstitions and prejudices on the one hand and with a pandering to vice and debasing influences on the other.¹¹

The Rev. James Bicknell's widely circulated and influential 1888 pamphlet, "Hoomanamana—Idolatry," declared that Kalākaua had turned from Christianity to idolatry, "allied himself to the ancient superstitions," and encouraged paganism's spread through the Hale Naua.¹² Another important commentator was Sereno Bishop, ordained minister, editor, teacher, and son of American Protestant missionaries. His 1888 speech to the Honolulu Social Science Association addressing the decline of the Hawaiian population linked the royal hula festivals, *kahunas*, and the Hale Naua, clearly articulating the dimensions of this cultural and spiritual conflict:

Both [the hulas and *kahunas*] are purely heathen institutions of the most pronounced and detestable type and are totally incompatible with any true and wholesome civilization. They should both be hunted down and exterminated like the venomous reptiles that they are, poisoning and slaying the people.¹³

With its emphasis on mystical experience as the route to a deeper spiritual reality and the formation of a universal brotherhood of humanity, without distinction to "creed, color, sex or caste," Theosophy was a similarly alarming non-Christian philosophy for the missionary elite and devoted advocates of Americanization.¹⁴ Not as widely practiced or known as traditional aspects of Hawaiian culture, with its proponents being of part-white ethnicity and high status within the community, Theosophy was less liable to be openly scorned. So what exactly was Theosophy and why did it attract a wide

spectrum of followers from the 1870s to the mid-twentieth century?

Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, a Russian woman of noble birth, and Henry Steel Olcott, an American lawyer and newspaperman, founded the modern Theosophical movement in New York City in 1875. As a system of thought, however, Theosophy (derived from the Greek *theos* and *sophia*, meaning “divine wisdom”) has roots in the thought of Greek philosophers such as Pythagoras and Plato and early Indian philosophy dating from the Vedas and Upanishads. The gnostic European tradition of mystics like Simon Magus, Meister Eckehart, Paracelsus, Giordano Bruno, and Jakob Bohme similarly reveal the common characteristics of theosophical belief: an emphasis on mystical experience, the belief in a deeper spiritual reality, and an interest in occult phenomena.¹⁵ The conviction that “the secret doctrine” or universal wisdom exists and is accessible through meditation, prayer, revelation, and other nonrational states also links ancient and modern theosophical writers. Three important characteristics of this ancient wisdom-religion are represented in Blavatsky’s 1877 occult classic, *Isis Unveiled*. The first is that humans devolved from higher realms of spirit and consciousness into matter and must reascend into a conscious awareness of this higher state, an emanationist view of the world. Secondly, ancient civilizations acquired knowledge at present unknown, including a unification of science and religion. Lastly, a secret fraternity of adepts has conserved this tradition throughout history.¹⁶ Blavatsky and Olcott’s Theosophical Society formally declared three main objectives: the creation of universal brotherhood of humanity, as stated above; the study of comparative religion; and investigation into hidden powers of human beings.¹⁷

By the late 1890s, the Theosophical Society had more than six hundred branches worldwide, primarily on the Indian subcontinent and in Europe and the United States, with membership ranging from dozens to a few hundred in each chapter. Not a mass movement, the society instead acted as a catalyst in the revival of Buddhism in Asia and a primary vehicle for the introduction of Asian religious ideas to the West. Indeed, Theosophy was often perceived by critics as identical to Buddhism after Blavatsky and Olcott relocated the Society to India in 1880 and took up a pro-Buddhist and anticolonial position. In championing this religious and philosophical tradition, which had been in decline, Blavatsky and Olcott affirmed the value of cultural

traditions that had been linked to Asia's political and economic "backwardness" by nineteenth-century Western imperial powers and ideologues. The rapidly growing Theosophical movement (including many Indian and Sri Lankan members) therefore strengthened indigenous political and cultural leaders who used it as an ideological weapon in the struggle to regain self-determination.¹⁸ On a smaller scale, Theosophy also played a similar role in Hawai'i, helping to fortify an isolated Asian community and its leaders, who were under intense pressure to convert to Christianity. Perhaps more subversively, it lured curious *kama'āinas* into an appreciation of Asian philosophies and culture, and for some, like Mary Foster, that appreciation led to allegiance.

Theosophy's synthesis of ideas connected an array of philosophical approaches, ancient and modern. Blavatsky's claims of secret knowledge transmitted to her by "Great Masters," or adepts hidden within the Himalayas, were profoundly controversial during the 1880s, generating investigations, exposés, and accusations but also creating a great amount of publicity for the movement and the ideas associated with it. This occult aspect of the Theosophical movement reflected the power of spiritualism, an enormously popular phenomenon in America during the decades after 1830. Combined with a number of more traditional belief systems—Buddhism, the Kabbala, and Hermetic traditions—spiritualism and science added an appealing complexity to Theosophy's philosophical synthesis. Furnishing a sophisticated gloss to occult beliefs, Theosophy furthermore offered solutions to two important challenges to religion in the modern world: the need to harmonize conflicting religious belief systems and to integrate spiritual belief with science and technology.¹⁹ These syncretic tendencies corresponded with an increasing secularism, anti-institutionalism, and social liberalism in Western society and a fascination with new forms of spiritual knowledge.

MARY FOSTER, AUGUSTE MARQUES, AND THEOSOPHY'S BEGINNINGS IN HONOLULU

When her husband died in 1889, Mary Foster found herself, at age forty-five, in a privileged yet ambiguous position. The oldest child of James Robinson, an early English immigrant who founded Hono-

lulu's first shipbuilding concern, and Rebecca Prever, the half-Hawaiian descendent of a line of Maui chiefs, Foster attended the O'ahu Charity School.²⁰ An English-language school intended for the children of foreign residents married to Hawaiians, the school was supported by nonmissionary foreigners yet was in close proximity to the mission.²¹ In 1860 Mary Robinson married Thomas Foster, a young shipyard owner from Nova Scotia, who had arrived in Hawai'i three years earlier. Foster was to become the principal founder and president of the Interisland Steam Navigation Company, one of two main interisland shipping concerns during the last two decades of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.²² Inheriting considerable property from both her father, who died in 1876, and her husband, Mary Foster became responsible for managing a wide range of business interests and large tracts of land in rural O'ahu (including Kahana valley) and in Honolulu.

Of Hawaiian and English ancestry, Foster grew up in an era of close collaboration between Hawaiian royalty and British emissaries. Because of the growing dominance of American economic interests, Kamehameha V and Kalākaua attempted to balance British and American interests in the Islands in order to avoid being overpowered by the increasingly assertive Americans.²³ A shared monarchical tradition and an aversion to the continuous Calvinist moralizing offered by the dominant American faction strengthened English influence on indigenous Hawaiian leadership. Yet overwhelming American economic advantages, the proximity of American naval forces, and the reluctance of the British government to project its military presence in Hawai'i helped thwart the effectiveness of the Hawaiian efforts to form a stronger alliance with Britain.²⁴

A complex web of personal and economic relationships connected the Robinson family to the monarchy—Foster's father, James Robinson, lent substantial funds to the Hawaiian government during the 1850s and maintained a close relationship with the kingdom's leaders until his death in 1876.²⁵ His sons and daughters were also members of the royal circle, socializing as well as doing business with Hawai'i's chiefly class. Although Mary Foster did not participate in politics, her brother, Mark Robinson, was a member of Queen Lili'uokalani's cabinet during the chaotic last months of the monarchy as factional battles sundered the royal government. At the same time,

Mark Robinson also introduced Theosophical lecturers and classes organized by his sister and hosted Theosophical gatherings at his home or at Foster Block. One of Honolulu's most important businessmen, Mark Robinson was a founder of First National Bank of Hawai'i and First American Savings, as well as a major investor and participant in B. F. Dillingham's Oahu Railway and Land Company.

While Lili'uokalani viewed Mark Robinson as having faltered in support of the monarchy after 1887, Mary Foster and her sister, Victoria Ward, were staunch supporters of the queen before, during, and following the overthrow of the monarchy.²⁶ Foster's relationship with the queen was long-standing and personal, with Foster receiving invitations to Lili'uokalani's birthday celebrations and the queen attending Buddhist events accompanied by Foster.²⁷

Because of the disappearance of most of Foster's personal correspondence it is difficult to document the closeness of her relation-

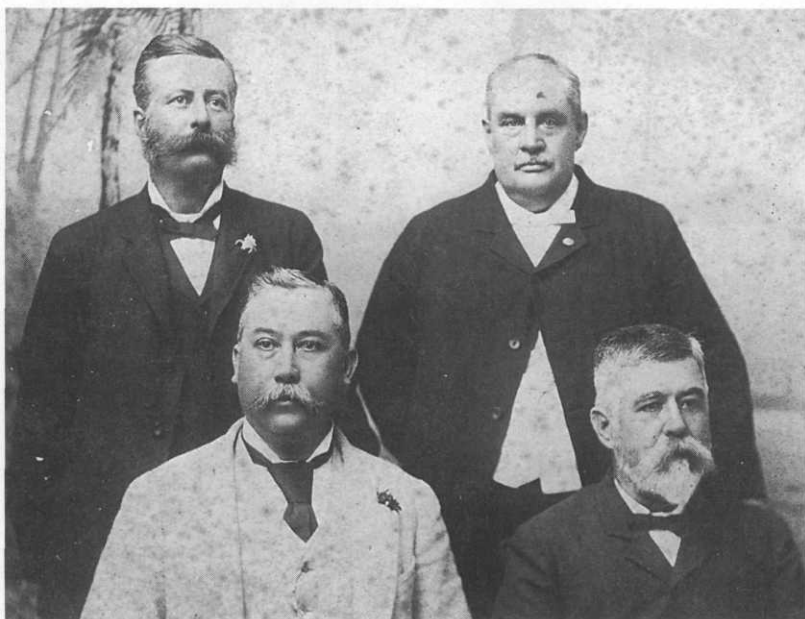


FIG. 2. Mary Foster's brother, Mark P. Robinson (front row, left), served in Queen Lili'uokalani's cabinet headed by George N. Wilcox (front row, right). Others in the cabinet were Cecil Brown and Peter C. Jones. (Bishop Museum.)

ship with Lili'uokalani, but the surviving evidence points to a deep common interest in spirituality. In the decades before she became queen, Lili'uokalani, along with Emma, wife of Alexander Liholiho, Kamehameha IV, and Kapi'olani, wife of King Kalākaua, frequently visited Old Plantation, the home of Mary Foster's sister, Victoria Ward, and her husband, Curtis Ward.²⁸ Foster herself spent a great deal of time at Old Plantation, especially after the death of her husband. What can be said with certainty is that Foster's relatives, friends, and associates were royalists, and she was often called upon to support their royalist endeavors.²⁹ Her efforts continued after the overthrow of the monarchy in January 1893, and several of Foster's closest associates participated in the attempted royalist counterrevolution in January 1895.³⁰

Why Foster became interested in Theosophy in the early 1890s is unclear, though there is evidence of a connection with her continuing grief at the passing of her husband.³¹ Perhaps the attraction was the spiritualist propensities of Helena Blavatsky, whose occult, esoteric approach contrasted with the rational, scientific methods of Theosophy's other cofounder, Colonel Henry Steel Olcott. Foster organized the first Hawaiian Theosophical study group, the "Aloha Branch," in February 1894, along with Auguste Marques, a writer, scholar, and member of the Hawaiian legislature prior to the overthrow. Subsequently they established several other study groups: the Hawai'i and Lotus branches.

Auguste Marques, a medical school graduate and native of France, arrived in Hawai'i in 1878. He soon helped found the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association, later Honolulu's first public library, and he actively promoted fund-raising efforts, purchased books, and organized a music department.³² A self-proclaimed advocate of Portuguese interests in his early years in Hawai'i, Marques established the Anti-Asiatic Society to work for the restriction of the immigration of Japanese and Chinese laborers. After reading Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* in 1885, he became interested in Theosophy, traveling to Europe in 1888 to further his research on the topic.³³ He abandoned his Anti-Asian endeavor in 1889 in order to concentrate on Theosophical and political interests, becoming general secretary of the Australia Theosophical Society from 1899 to 1901. Marques hosted weekly Theosophical classes at his house on Wilder Avenue

with membership fluctuating between seven and twenty-five in the first decade of the group's existence.³⁴ Despite the sparse number of members, Foster and Marques brought a succession of visiting lecturers and prominent personalities to Honolulu during the same period, drawing large crowds and press attention. Frequently, the lectures and classes took place at Foster Block, a still-standing edifice on Nu'uuanu Avenue opposite Merchant Street.

Deeply involved in the tumult surrounding the overthrow as one of Queen Lili'uokalani's allies, Marques was at the same time immersing himself in the Theosophical movement. Although not a member of the Hale Naua, he was accused by critics of being a "habitué of the palace" during Kalākaua's reign.³⁵ Marques did play a crucial role in the 1890 campaign for the Hawaiian legislature that succeeded in ousting L. A. Thurston and the haole-dominated cabinet, serving one term as a representative.³⁶ According to Ralph Kuykendall, Marques conveyed the rumor to Queen Lili'uokalani that American minister John L. Stevens was actively plotting a coup against her government in December 1892.³⁷ In late 1893, Marques wrote an article for the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* in which he denounced the motives of the plotters as the "ambition and lust for power of a faction of white adventurers. Annexation can in no way excuse the usurpation because it would be of no possible benefit to the Hawaiians." Criticized a few weeks later for his pro-Hawaiian views in an anonymous letter to the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Marques responded, resulting in a volley of front-page opinions from both Marques and the anonymous letter writer.³⁸

The author of almost a dozen articles in *Thrum's Annual* from 1886 to 1915 on topics ranging from Portuguese immigration to Hawaiian music, Marques displayed a sharp intellect in analyzing Honolulu's changing cultural environment.³⁹ An eccentric combination of political gadfly and proponent of philosophical and religious synthesis, Marques also penned a series of articles for *The Theosophist*, the journal of the Theosophical Society published in Adyar, India. Expounding on Hawaiian mythology and symbolism, he documented chants and prayers that connected families and communities with the land, sea, and ancestral gods.⁴⁰ Foster shared this intense interest in Hawaiian culture, fusing it in later years with Theosophical and Buddhist beliefs. It was perhaps at this juncture that the indepen-

dently wealthy Marques and Foster met and became friends and allies.

Marie de Souza Canavarro, the wife of the Portuguese consul, was another early Theosophist in Honolulu, finding kindred spirits within the group following her disillusionment with Roman Catholicism. Canavarro, who came to Hawai'i from California, engaged in a lifelong quest for spiritual truth through esoteric traditions, gaining minor celebrity a few years later for her promotion of Buddhism nationwide through lectures and books. The few years she spent in Honolulu in the early 1890s coincided with Foster's and Marques's growing interest in Theosophy. Her autobiography suggests that she shared in some of the experiences outlined below.

Months before the formal start of the Theosophical group, however, Foster had encountered a visitor to the city who was to deepen her spiritual commitment to Buddhism in subsequent years. The brief meeting was also decisive in transforming the young man's life and the direction of the movement he was leading.

CHICAGO, 1893—NEW WORLD ENCOUNTERS

In September 1893 the World's Parliament of Religions took place as part of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, marking an important new phase of growth of Buddhism, Hinduism, and other Asian religions in America. Although predominantly a Christian assembly, the Parliament made an impact by focusing a great deal of press attention on representatives of Eastern faiths. A number of spokesmen for Hindu and Buddhist groups emerged, among them Anagarika Dharmapala, a charismatic twenty-nine-year-old from Sri Lanka who was deeply involved in the beginnings of the Theosophical movement there. The founders of the movement, Madame Helena Blavatsky and Colonel Henry Steel Olcott,⁴¹ had traveled to Sri Lanka from their new headquarters in Adyar, India, and nurtured the fifteen-year-old Dharmapala in the belief he would be an important leader in the future. Forming the Maha Bodhi Society in 1891, Dharmapala yearned to unite Buddhists throughout the world in the effort to regain control of sacred sites in India, particularly Bodh-gaya, where Buddha gained enlightenment. For more than forty years he was to focus on this goal as a universalizing theme in his international proselytizing.⁴²

Devoting much of their time to counteracting colonial Christianizing efforts, Olcott and Blavatsky decisively influenced Dharmapala with their bold and forthright opposition to the Western missionaries. Developing an increasingly radical political stance toward the British in Sri Lanka after 1900, he became one of the most important indigenous opposition leaders. A formidable organizer and manager, Dharmapala absorbed much knowledge in his six-year apprenticeship with Olcott and began to chart an independent path by 1890. As manager of a newly formed school system for the Buddhist Theosophical Society in Adyar, Dharmapala registered sixty-three schools within a decade of its founding. He also managed the Buddhist Press and a Sinhala newspaper.⁴³

A month after the Chicago Parliament, Dharmapala was on his way back to Asia when his ship stopped for a day in Honolulu in mid-October 1893.⁴⁴ Greeted and offered fresh fruit and flowers by Mary Foster, Auguste Marques, and an unidentified woman Theosophist, possibly Marie de Souza Canavarro, Dharmapala embarked on a short tour of Honolulu. Foster confided in Dharmapala about her uncontrollable temper and asked for advice. His counsel was evidently of great value to her as she commenced studying Theravadan Buddhism in conjunction with her Theosophical interests.⁴⁵ A number of later newspaper accounts refer to Foster's traveling to Ceylon in 1893 and studying with the Buddhist monks at Anuradhapura, thereby horrifying her large *kama'aina* family, who kept this fact secret.⁴⁶ It is difficult to ascertain the truth of the matter. Foster's always extensive travels increased in duration after the death of her husband, and she often left the Islands for months at a time. A letter of July 1894 provides a slim clue to whether or not Foster did travel to the subcontinent. Addressed to Foster from Countess Constance Wachtmeister, Blavatsky's main assistant in the mid-1880s and later a leading spokesperson for Theosophy, it suggests a number of conclusions. Proposing that Foster accompany her on a trip to India via Europe, Wachtmeister's warm message implies familiarity and friendship and a casual attitude to voyaging to such a distant land. It suggests that Foster's later reputation as a Theravadan Buddhist may have rested on experiential involvement in the religion.⁴⁷

While whatever role Foster's travels played in the development of her religious beliefs may be unknown, her behind-the-scenes support

for Buddhist causes and the local Asian community, which commenced during the last half of the 1890s was widely acknowledged.⁴⁸ Playing an important part in the building of the first Honpa Hongwanji Buddhist temple in Honolulu in 1899, Foster helped organize the fund-raising committee and arrange the purchase of a building site.⁴⁹ Her active patronage continued into the new century, as she acted as a behind-the-scenes mediator for the Japanese Buddhist community as well as initiated financial support in 1902 for Dharmapala's organization, the Maha Bodhi Society, and its orphanages, vocational schools, and seminaries in India and Ceylon.⁵⁰

Because of the lack of higher education among most immigrants and their children in Hawai'i, Buddhist Bishop Yemyo Imamura proposed building a Hongwanji high school, incorporating dormitories for students from rural O'ahu and the neighbor islands. While in Japan in early 1906 he gained approval from the Honzan, Hongwanji's headquarters temple in Kyoto, and on his return to Hawai'i he spoke to Foster about the new project. She immediately granted him a large parcel of land in Nu'uuanu Valley on which the high school was built. Subsequently, a new main temple, notable for its Gandharan-style architecture, was added in 1918. It remains the center for Honpa Hongwanji activities in the Islands.⁵¹ Foster's support for Dharmapala's international Buddhist organization also increased dramatically in the first two decades of the new century.

Contributing more than three hundred thousand dollars to the Maha Bodhi Society, she funded the Foster-Robinson Memorial Hospital for the care of the poor, as well as seminaries and schools in Ceylon and India.⁵² Despite a great deal of suspicion from her lawyers and business advisers about the legitimacy of the Sri Lankan Buddhist leader, their long-distance friendship endured. Foster's main business adviser was attorney Ernest Hay Wodehouse, son of the British consul to the Hawaiian kingdom, James Hay Wodehouse. "Ernie," as Foster referred to him in numerous notes and letters, was the conduit through which Foster managed her numerous land holdings and investments, as well as some social invitations. He became increasingly suspicious of Anagarika Dharmapala's activities as Foster accelerated her contributions to the Maha Bodhi Society after 1918, seeking evidence from bankers, diplomats, and travelers to prove Dharmapala led a dissolute life.⁵³ In 1927 he wrote Dr. George F.

Straub, one of Honolulu's most prominent physicians, asking for his opinions of the facilities he had recently visited in Ceylon, supposedly funded by Foster's contributions. Replying four days later, Straub said his recent visit to the Foster Memorial Hospital in Colombo convinced him "that the institution is doing a lot of good and its investment and upkeep must represent a good deal of money."⁵⁴

In 1925, at what was only their third personal meeting, the aging and sick Dharmapala remembered Foster's temper, the cause of their first meeting, and recited the English translation of Buddhaghosa's verses on anger from the *Visuddhimagga*:

If thy enemies pursue the unprofitable path of wrath, why dost thou imitate their angry deeds? Cut off that hate by which thy foe has done thee harm. Why frettest thou where no occasion is? Because at every moment states break up, those aggregates which caused thee harm have ceased. With which of these art thou in anger now?⁵⁵

Dharmapala's words might well have been the guiding principle for the Japanese Buddhist community under Bishop Imamura. Steadily moving forward, the Buddhist leadership focused on gaining allies rather than confronting enemies. In Mary Foster they found a perfect partner, attuned to working behind the scenes with a loathing for the public spotlight.

TRAVELING POETS, BUDDHISTS, AND THEOSOPHISTS

Although Foster preferred to remain backstage, Buddhism and Theosophy gained frequent front-page attention in Honolulu because of a steady stream of prominent speakers who arrived to lecture and teach. In 1892, just two years prior to the founding of the Theosophical Society in Honolulu and a year before the overthrow of the monarchy, the popular English writer Sir Edwin Arnold stopped in Honolulu on his way to Japan. Author of *The Light of Asia*, a free-verse life of the Buddha that sold a million copies in the United States and millions more throughout the world, Arnold was a prodigiously erudite man, enormously influential in the transmission of Buddhism and other Asian religious traditions to the West. Members of the queen's cabinet, William G. Irwin, and Prime Minister Samuel Parker hosted Arnold in travels around the city. After visiting Lili'uokalani

at her Washington Place residence, he contributed "An Earthly Paradise" to the *Paradise of the Pacific*, an engaging account of Honolulu and the royal government at a time of intense partisan political maneuvering.⁵⁶ His was a portrayal of an intelligent, graceful, and gentle monarch remembering her visit to England and conversations with Queen Victoria five years earlier. It coincided with fierce personal attacks on Lili'uokalani from local and mainland critics, who spoke of a "dark queen" obsessed with primitive magic and vengeance upon her enemies in an intensely personal, almost irrational tone.⁵⁷ These polarized views of Hawai'i's indigenous political leadership are also indicative of similarly divided convictions about the kingdom's evolving cultural environment.

Arnold's visit was only the first of a stream of Buddhist and Theosophical lecturers visiting Honolulu during the 1890s who articulated a deep appreciation of Eastern philosophies. They urged a progressive combination of the best of Eastern and Western culture, an ideology that was particularly relevant to Hawai'i. Countess Constance Wachtmeister, Foster's correspondent and possible traveling companion, visited the Islands in May 1896, giving a series of well-attended lectures in which she explained reincarnation and other Theosophical doctrines. Honolulu's *Evening Bulletin* front-page synopsis of "the celebrated expounder of theosophical beliefs" commented, "The lecture was intensely interesting and the lady's delivery magnificent. Every word is to the point of her subject and although eloquent she does not indulge in flowery metaphor."⁵⁸ After describing the principles of reincarnation, Wachtmeister asserted that the human experience on earth was "training school for real life" with everyday consciousness allowing little understanding of ourselves. It was the adept who, after long years of training, could separate body and soul and for a time, "dwell in the plane above ours," who held the key to wisdom. Closing her remarks with an admonition to control the senses, she quoted Christ as saying "ye are sons of God" and concluded that "man is master of his destiny."⁵⁹ Subsequent lectures, which she devoted to a comparative study of prayer across the world and the need to train the mind, were clearly aimed at not offending Christian sensibilities, emphasizing instead the common experience of those seeking the ineffable.⁶⁰

Such was not the case for every Theosophical and Buddhist lecturer who traveled to Hawai'i during this period, but from 1894 to 1896 the message for the most part was conciliatory. Mrs. M. M. Thirds, who arrived in August 1894 as the guest of Mary Foster, stayed in Honolulu for four months, lecturing to "intensely interested audiences" until her departure.⁶¹ She stated in her final lecture that

it is not the object of the theosophist to antagonize any creed or sect; there is no desire to establish a creed-bound priesthood or church. The theosophist is seeking to bring men to an awakening of their spiritual nature and spiritual powers.⁶²

Sereno Bishop, editor of the *Friend*, was less than impressed by Mrs. Thirds's pacifying sentiments, headlining his comments, "A Grotesque Doctrine" in an October 1894 issue. Diplomatically complimenting her audience as "persons of good repute for character and intelligence," Bishop then belittled Thirds's lectures as "a mixture of obscurities and platitudes . . . derived from revelations of certain occult beings known as 'Mahatmas,' mere inventions of base and fraudulent persons like the notorious Blavatsky and Olcott."⁶³ He then obliquely ascribed "evil spirits" as the basis for Theosophical doctrines, a familiar accusation to supporters of Hawaiian culture, whose beliefs were similarly defamed.

Other Theosophical sojourners visited the Islands in these years, and by 1897, the first permanent Buddhist clergy arrived in Hawai'i. Perhaps the most noteworthy (or notorious) personality to appear was Henry Steel Olcott in February 1901. First establishing his credentials as "thoroughly American, from old Puritan stock" in an introductory interview with the *Evening Bulletin*, the Theosophical Society's cofounder later proceeded to lay out a forthright challenge to those who would convert Buddhists to Christianity.⁶⁴ On February 18th a crowd of more than four hundred Japanese and whites filled the Hongwanji Temple (which had been dedicated less than three months earlier) for Olcott's first talk. Using an interpreter, he elicited thunderous and prolonged cheers from the Japanese segment of the audience in an hour-long address. Explicitly linking rationality and pedagogy to the understanding of spirituality, Olcott asserted that

You know that in our most modern schools we have been taught to believe what we discover is true to inquiry and experiment. There are other religions which say that if you don't believe us then you will be eternally damned. They will not allow you to believe except as taught from a certain book. How is a person who has been educated in our modern schools to accept a doctrine like that? My mind was so constituted that I could not believe anything I was told to believe without getting proofs. I found that the Lord Buddha had expressly reached a sermon upon that very point called the Kalama Sutra.⁶⁵

He asked rhetorically: "Why do I call myself a Buddhist? Because I found that this religion did not ask me to believe any absurd teachings that might be offered." Olcott then observed:

There are thousands of people who make it a business to persuade Buddhists to leave their religion and take another one. But I advise you to be very careful how you give up your religion until you know something of its value.⁶⁶

The "Prophet of Theosophy," as a newspaper dubbed him at the time, most certainly boosted the spirits of Japanese Buddhists, as attested to by interviews at the time and reminiscences written decades later.⁶⁷ He also brought down the wrath of Sereno Bishop, whose newspaper *Queen Lili'uokalani* called the voice of "the missionary party." Bishop wrote:

We have some respect for Buddhists who grew up in that faith. But for adopters of it, like the debauchee Edwin Arnold, or like the tricksters Blavatsky and Olcott, there is no room for respect.⁶⁸

A world-renowned and controversial figure (judged a "famous savant and orientalist" in the *Evening Bulletin*), Olcott forcefully entered the contentious local debate on how Asians and their culture would fit into Hawaiian society. As social drama, Olcott's lectures were truly liminal events, where normative social structure was held in abeyance for a brief period as elite members of Hawai'i's hierarchy met and fraternized with Japanese immigrants in Honolulu's first Buddhist temple. Without the right to vote or become citizens, denied a religious charter by the government, and subject to numerous other

humiliating restrictions, the Japanese community began the new century with an alternative vision: honor, respect, and encouragement for their religion and culture.

Another crucial event facilitated by Foster was Lili'uokalani's attendance at ceremonies commemorating the birth of Shinran Shonin, the founder of the Shin Shu sect of Buddhism, in May 1901. Bishop Imamura had heard that the deposed regent was friendly to the Japanese and called upon Mary Foster to convey an invitation to the service. Accompanied by Foster and Auguste Marques, Lili'uokalani attended the formal afternoon service, sitting adjacent to the altar and then staying late into the evening for the festivities that followed. Preceding any recognition on the part of the territorial authorities toward Buddhism, the former queen's gesture was an important one, bringing press attention and drawing much appreciation from Bishop Imamura and the Japanese.⁶⁹

CONCLUSION

Advocates of Theosophy envisioned a world with fewer borders than most other contemporary Victorians, in part because of the times in which they lived. Boundaries between ethnic groups, religions, spirituality, and science were less rigid and therefore more easily surmounted in an age of rapid demographic, scientific, and commercial transformations. The island kingdom of Hawai'i followed this worldwide pattern with the quick development of a sophisticated sugar industry, improved transportation networks, and the adoption of the newest advancements in electrical lighting and communication. Its population became increasingly heterogeneous with a great influx of imported workers from Portugal, China, Japan, and other countries. In the face of these revolutionary developments, much of the white elite of the kingdom, especially those who overthrew the monarchy and advocated annexation, remained bound to the old divisions between ethnic groups, between approved Christian spirituality and all other, unacceptable forms. Hawaiians had always been less concerned with demarcations of rigid boundaries between ethnic groups, freely sharing their land, resources, and culture and appropriating desirable elements from Western civilization. The Protestant

missionary elite and their successors therefore gained great power in defining and enforcing the boundaries between moral and immoral, proper and improper in Hawaiian and Asian culture. Theosophists specifically opposed this authoritarian vision of society and quietly worked for change within a philosophical and religious framework that viewed the diversity of religions and peoples as a source of strength rather than a sign of immorality and corruption.

Although Theosophists never gained a mass following in Hawai'i, they did maintain a presence on O'ahu until the 1980s. Mary Foster died in 1930, continuing to maintain her financial support of Anagarika Dharmapala's Maha Bodhi Society. Most of her estate was divided among her family and various charitable causes, including Dharmapala's. She bequeathed her home and the grounds surrounding it to the city as a park, now known as Foster Gardens, one of the most unusual urban botanical gardens in the world. Marques died in 1929 in Honolulu, having lived out his years as diplomatic consul to Hawai'i for France and Russia.

Those who made the first bold moves in cross-cultural exchanges merit historical analysis for a multitude of reasons, even though they, like Mary Foster and Auguste Marques, may have been pursuing individual spiritual paths. Their persistence helped undermine previously inviolate barriers and, in Foster's case, contributed needed medical and educational services to young people in Hawai'i, India, and Sri Lanka. These small-scale encounters help remind us that cultural change evolves on a local level in a sometimes mundane fashion. The Theosophical and Buddhist events and ceremonies that took place during the 1890s and early 1900s were only a few of many cross-cultural encounters in Hawai'i during this period, but they were also unique. Asians attended these lectures and ceremonies not as potential converts, but as heirs to a twenty-five-hundred-year religious tradition that was being brought to the attention of the broader multicultural community in an environment of respect. Just as the Hoomana Naauao transformed and synthesized Christian beliefs and indigenous Hawaiian spirituality, Theosophy combined Buddhism, spiritualism, and science in a syncretic fusion that attracted those looking for innovative answers in an era of rapid social change.

NOTES

- ¹ Literally "child of the land," denoting indigenous Hawaiians. By the late nineteenth century, this term came to encompass long-time residents and those born in the Islands of varying ethnicities.
- ² Hoomana Naauoa, or "reasonable service," was established in 1889 by John Kekipi, a wealthy owner of a small plantation in Kohala, Hawai'i, and friend of Lili'uokalani. Based on the law of God as revealed in the ten commandments, church members believed that Hawaiians were descended from Hebrews and Egyptians and that ancient Hawaiian religion evolved from the same source as Christianity. Teaching that the causes of illness and misfortune could be discerned after praying and fasting, the church gained many adherents among prominent individuals in the Hawaiian community including Mary Foster. Darrow Aiona, "The Hawaiian Church of the Living God: An Episode in the Hawaiian's Quest for Social Identity" (M.A. thesis, U of Hawai'i, 1959) 22-30; Agnes Alexander, *Personal Recollections of a Bahai Life in the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Hawaii Times, 1972).
- ³ Victor Turner, *Blazing the Trail: Way Marks in the Exploration of Symbols*, ed. Edith Turner (Tucson: U of Arizona, 1992) 59.
- ⁴ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969) 129.
- ⁵ Turner, *Blazing* 132.
- ⁶ Turner, *Blazing* 57.
- ⁷ Aiona, "The Hawaiian Church" 1-11.
- ⁸ Fredrik Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," in *Process and Form in Social Life: Selected Essays of Frederik Barth*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981) 203-04.
- ⁹ W. N. Armstrong, "The Effect of the Alien," *PCA* 14 June 1894, 6. For a more fire-breathing example of this genre, see Julien D. Hayne, "Money, Morals and Mongolians: A History of Oriental Pollution in Hawai'i," *The Hawaiian*, Aug. 1895, 272-87.
- ¹⁰ Louise H. Hunter, *Buddhism in Hawai'i: Its Impact on a Yankee Community* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1971) 38-42, 52-68.
- ¹¹ Lorrin Thurston, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing, 1936) 28.
- ¹² James Bicknell, "Hoomanamana—Idolatry," 1888; Riley H. Allen, "Some Observations on Pamphleteering in Hawai'i." Read to Social Science Association, 5 June 1933.
- ¹³ Rev. S. E. Bishop, "Why Are the Hawaiians Dying Out?" Read to Honolulu Social Science Association, Nov. 1888.
- ¹⁴ "A Chicago Theosophist," *PCA* 15 Aug. 1894, 2. The story outlining Mrs. M. Third's coming lectures and classes in Honolulu explicitly invited all persons interested in Theosophy irrespective of the distinctions quoted.
- ¹⁵ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., s.v. "theosophy."

- ¹⁶ Bruce F. Campbell, *Ancient Wisdom Revived: A History of the Theosophical Movement* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1980) 33–38.
- ¹⁷ Campbell, *Ancient* 78–79.
- ¹⁸ An excellent overview is provided in W. Travis Hanes III, "On the Origins of the Indian National Congress: A Case Study of Cross-Cultural Synthesis," *Journal of World History* 4.1 (1994): 69–98.
- ¹⁹ Campbell, *Ancient* 61–63.
- ²⁰ HA 20 Dec. 1930.
- ²¹ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854: Foundation and Transformation* (U of Hawai'i P, 1938) 113.
- ²² Mifflin Thomas, *Schooner From Windward: Two Centuries of Hawaiian Interisland Shipping* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1983) 58–60, 77.
- ²³ The Reciprocity Treaty allowed Hawai'i sugar, rice, and other products to enter the United States duty-free in return for similar treatment of American products entering Hawai'i.
- ²⁴ For a summary of ethnic and national rivalries in Honolulu, see Gavan Daws, "Honolulu in the 19th Century: Notes on the Emergence of Urban Society in Hawaii," *Journal of Pacific History* 2 (1967): 77–96.
- ²⁵ James Robinson, a carpenter on the British whaling ship *Hermes*, was shipwrecked on a coral atoll one thousand miles northwest of Hawai'i in 1822. From the salvaged timbers of the ship, Robinson supervised the construction of a schooner dubbed "The Deliverance" and sailed to Honolulu in a ten-week voyage. After his arrival, Robinson was befriended by Kamehameha II and John Young. Clarice Taylor, *The James Robinson Family* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1952), reprinted by Mark A. Robinson Trust; Alexander Spoehr, "A 19th Century Chapter in Hawai'i's Maritime History," *HJH* 22 (1988): 80–81.
- ²⁶ The Diary of Lili'uokalani, 18 Jan. 1894, 19 Jan. 1894. After promulgation of the law forbidding the public display of the Hawaiian flag, Victoria Ward (wife of Curtis P. Ward, a native of Kentucky) replaced the Confederate flag (made by Lili'uokalani for her friend Curtis) that had been placed under her bed canopy at Old Plantation on King Street with a *Ku'u Hae Aloha* flag quilt. "I was born under the Hawaiian flag," she declared, "and I shall die under it." Gwen-fread Allen, "End of an Era," *PP* May 1962, 8.
- ²⁷ The Diary of Queen Lili'uokalani, 1885; Mary Foster to Ernest Wodehouse, 27 Aug. 1901, Manuscript Collection, AH; George Y. Yamamoto, *Origin of Buddhism in Hawaii* (Honolulu: YBA Publication, 1964) 11; Taylor, *James Robinson Family* 15–25.
- ²⁸ Allen, "End" 9.
- ²⁹ Foster was called upon to assist Hawaiian political and cultural causes, as evidenced by correspondence from newspaper editor F. J. Testa in 1899. F. J. Testa to Mary Foster, Honolulu, 26 Apr. 1899, Manuscript Collection, AH. She also aided many Hawaiians in their educations by supporting their studies. Aiona, "The Hawaiian Church" 37; George P. Mossman to E. H. Wodehouse, 26 Sept. 1929, Manuscript Collection, AH.

- ³⁰ Albertine Loomis, *For Whom Are the Stars?* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1976) 139-40.
- ³¹ Most of the following information has been gleaned from Foster's correspondence, some of which resides with her business papers at the Hawai'i State Archives.
- ³² "Dr. Marques, Life Student, Honored by Nations, Kings," *HSB* 15 Dec. 1928; Mary A. Burbank, "Story of the Honolulu Library and Reading Room Association," *Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (1927): 14-25.
- ³³ "Friends of Our Movement," *Mercury, Official Organ of the American Section, Theosophical Society* 5, Feb. 1899.
- ³⁴ Auguste Marques, "Theosophical Society," 2. Manuscript Collection, AH.
- ³⁵ *PCA* 12 Feb. 1894, 1.
- ³⁶ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1967) 449-59.
- ³⁷ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893* 576.
- ³⁸ *PCA* 10 Feb. 1894, 3; "What Correspondents Think," *PCA* 12 Feb. 1894, 1.
- ³⁹ *HAA*, 1886, 1887, 1894, 1906, 1910, 1911, 1914, 1915.
- ⁴⁰ Auguste Marques, "Hawaiian Folklore," *The Theosophist* June 1896, 554-56; "Corroboration of Theosophy," *The Theosophist* Oct. 1896, 27-37; "The Days of the Week and Their Occult Correspondences," *The Theosophist* June 1897, 546-52.
- ⁴¹ For more information on the World's Parliament, see Rick Fields, *How the Swans Came to the Lake: A Narrative History of Buddhism in America*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1992) 119-130; *Buddhist Christian Studies* 11 (1991): 5-59.
- ⁴² Dharmapala was to play a crucial role in the Sri Lankan Nationalist movement from 1900 to 1920, with his increasingly incendiary attacks on British authority inciting much unrest. For more information, see Gananath Obeyesekere, "Personal Identity and Cultural Crisis," in *The Biographical Process: Studies in History and Psychology*, ed. Frank Reynolds and Donald Capps (The Hague: Mouton, 1976) 211-51; Maha Sthavira Sangharakshita, *Flame in Darkness: The Life and Sayings of Anagarika Dharmapala* (Pune, Sri Lanka: Tiratna, 1980).
- ⁴³ Obeyesekere, "Personal Identity" 238.
- ⁴⁴ "A Buddhist Priest," *Hawaiian Star* 18 Oct. 1893, 3.
- ⁴⁵ Sangharakshita, *Flame in Darkness* 81. The events here were reconstructed using the letters from "Anagarika Dharmapala and Mary Elizabeth Foster," documents compiled by Martin Carroll, American Embassy, Colombo, Ceylon, 1964, 72-74. Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, U of Hawai'i.
- ⁴⁶ Lois Taylor, "The Place not the Face is Familiar," *SSB&A* 1 Sept. 1974; Rhoda Hackler, "A History of Foster Botanic Garden" (1986), manuscript, 41-42, Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, U of Hawai'i.
- ⁴⁷ Countess Wachtmeister, Chicago, to Mary Foster, Honolulu, 20 July 1894, Manuscript Collection, AH. Wachtmeister was a member of Swedish royalty.

From the mid-1890s, Foster was described as a Theravada Buddhist even after her support of the Japanese Buddhists in Honolulu became public.

- ⁴⁸ Foster was cited as host for Theosophical visitors such as Mrs. M. M. Thirds and Countess Wachtmeister in 1894 and 1896 respectively.
- ⁴⁹ PCA 20 May 1901, 18; Yamamoto, *Origin* 9; Hunter, *Buddhism* 65.
- ⁵⁰ "Anagarika Dharmapala and Mary Elizabeth Foster" 69.
- ⁵¹ Ruth Tabrah, *A Grateful Past, A Promising Future: Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawai'i 100 Year History* (Honolulu: Centennial Publication Committee, 1989) 41-42.
- ⁵² Mary Foster to Anagarika Dharmapala, 15 Dec. 1905, Anagarika Dharmapala to Mary Foster, 14 Sept. 1922, Stuart F. Smith to E. H. Wodehouse, 14 May 1923, Manuscript Collection, AH; Mark P. Robinson to Anagarika Dharmapala, 9 Aug. 1910, Mary Foster to Anagarika Dharmapala, 24 July 1911, A. B. Lekenby to Anagarika Dharmapala, 26 July 1917, 11 Nov. 1918, "Anagarika Dharmapala and Mary Elizabeth Foster"; *The Maha Bodhi*, March 1931.
- ⁵³ E. H. Wodehouse to S. Smith, 24 Jan. 1925, S. Smith to E. H. Wodehouse 11 Sept. 1925, Waldo Heinrich to E. H. Wodehouse, 24 Oct. 1924, E. H. Wodehouse to Waldo Heinrich 7 Nov. 1924, Manuscript Collection, AH.
- ⁵⁴ Ernest Wodehouse to George F. Straub, 22 Dec. 1927, George F. Straub to Ernest Wodehouse, 26 Dec. 1927. Manuscript Collection, AH.
- ⁵⁵ *Maha Bodhi Society Diamond Jubilee Souvenir* (1952).
- ⁵⁶ Sir Edwin Arnold, "An Earthly Paradise," PP June 1892, 4-5.
- ⁵⁷ Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Lili'uokalani, Last Queen of Hawai'i 1838-1917* (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1982) 268.
- ⁵⁸ EB 4 May 1896.
- ⁵⁹ EB 4 May 1896.
- ⁶⁰ EB 6-7 May 1896, 5; *Hawaiian Star* 9 May 1896, 9.
- ⁶¹ DB 14 Aug. 1894, 3; HG 7 Dec. 1894, 1.
- ⁶² HG 7 Dec. 1894, 1.
- ⁶³ F Oct. 1894, 77.
- ⁶⁴ "Colonel Olcott Here," EB 13 Feb. 1901, 1.
- ⁶⁵ "Buddhism the Subject of a Lecture to Japanese," PCA 18 Feb. 1901, 14.
- ⁶⁶ PCA 18 Feb. 1901, 14; HG 19 Feb. 1901, 2.
- ⁶⁷ "Japanese and Olcott," EB 22 Feb. 1901, 1; Yamamoto, *Origin* 11; Tabrah, *Grateful Past* 25.
- ⁶⁸ F Mar. 1901, 64.
- ⁶⁹ PCA 20 May 1901; Tabrah, *Grateful Past* 26.